1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

606 being 'father', to the wife they are *ndatembo* (father-in-law). All relatives whom one considers as 'parents' are parents-in-law to one's spouse, and conversely, all whom one considers as one's 'children' are *ndatembo* (sons-in-law or daughters-in-law) to the spouse. To all these relatives-in-law is due the same pattern of respectful behaviour. Avoidance of seeing each other applies only between the *va ndatembo* of opposite sex. There is the additional prohibition that they may not eat in each other's presence. This avoidance is further extended to include one's *ndatembo* of the same sex, and also one's *nãtwã* (relatives-in-law of one's own generation). With the *nãtwã*, however, one is otherwise on free and easy terms.[1] The prohibition on eating does not apply to drinking beer or to other such casual refreshment, but only to 'hot food', i.e. to regular meals.

606 788 Avoidance of meeting (*oku liyuvuila kocipala*, lit. 'avoiding each other to the face') is especially difficult for the bride who comes to live in a village of her husband's people, a large proportion of the men of which may be *ndatembo* to her. The prohibition may be lifted by going through a simple ceremony in which each rubs a little oil on the other. The woman rubs oil on the breast, the face, and the right arm of her *ndatembo*, while he in turn rubs oil from the same dish on her breast and on the braids of her forehead. Avoidance of eating in each other's presence may be done away with after some months by sacrificing a chicken and feeding it ceremonially together with maize porridge to the *ndatembo* or *nãtwã* (throwing it into her mouth, mouthful by mouthful), with the attendance of the immediate family. It is especially important that these ceremonies be carried through with respect (*esumbilo*).

The avoidance of the name, whether of husband and wife, or of the parents-in-law, must be maintained: the names must not be pronounced. Many euphemisms are resorted to when it becomes 606 necessary to speak of or to these relatives-in-law. This is one 551 reason why the parents themselves take the name of their first-born, prefixing *Na*, 'mother of', and *Sa*, 'father of'. Thus the parents of *Kambõtiã* are known as *Nakambõtiã* and *Sakambõtiã*. This name may be pronounced. This is also probably one reason for extend-

[1] See the folk-tale in which the man who knows the speech of the red ants gives away his knowledge by laughing out while his sister-in-law is braiding his hair.

1: Childs M-S (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

ing to the wife all the relationships which are the husband's and vice versa. Thus by courtesy the parents-in-law are spoken of not as *ndatembo*, but *Mai* (my mother) and *Tate* (my father). The same extension also applies to all of the kin of the spouse and for all kinship terms both direct and reciprocal. Another reason for this is the mutual respect which is a principal basis of the Umbundu marriage.[1]

There remains one important matter necessary to an understanding of the Umbundu concept of relationship by marriage. To the Ovimbundu the proper, or at least the most desirable, marriage is a marriage within the circle of kin. 'Formerly people never married unless they were related, that is to say, unless they touched the blood together. If in the mother's kin (*koluina*), only on the side of the bow (i.e. male line). If in the father's kin (*koluse*), only on the side of the basket (i.e. female line).'[2] Upon closer consideration it becomes evident which of the relatives one may marry. It would not be possible to marry any who are classed as brother, sister, father, mother, grandparent, child, or grandchild, for such a union would involve incest (*oku ndõ*). The relatives whom one may marry are, then, those of one's own age-level who belong to classes other than the above-mentioned. An ideal mate of one's own generation is a cross-cousin classed as *Epalume* or *Cepua* (Class A. 4, p. 47). Beside this, a woman may marry one classed as her mother's brother (Class D. 3, p. 48), and a man one classed as his father's sister (Class D. 4, p. 48), if of appropriate age. One may also marry an *ocimumba* (Class J. 2, p. 49). Hambly remarked that 'cross-cousin marriage . . . is the functional form among the Ovimbundu'.[3] This is true, but only in part, for not only are there many relatives other than his cross-cousin whom an Ocimbundu may marry, but the financial arrangements are quite other than those usually associated with the cross-cousin marriage.

[1] While I do not pretend to believe that 'respect' is the only or even the main reason for the observances described, it seems sufficiently important to receive the attention which I have given it.

[2] Verbatim translation of statement by Likuhuta Samikanje, elder of the school village at Ngendo (Kasonge).

[3] Hambly, op. cit., p. 194. In reporting the replies of his informant as to whom he could marry, with regard to the marriage of father's sister's daughter, the reply was that it was possible but not desirable 'because the children will be stupid'. The reason assigned was evidently taken from European ideas, but the reply also indicates a preference for marriage within the *olusa*, which I have also had from many but not from all informants.

1: Childs M-S (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

The Ovimbundu are not ordinary cannibals, if indeed that term may be applied to any people in Africa, nor do the commoners of the Ovimbundu ever eat human flesh on their own account, but no king may ever reign or be considered as regularly enthroned until he has 'eaten Ekongo'.[1] The cannibalism traditionally ascribed to Wambu-Kalunga is also a case in point.[2] Other human sacrifices practised by the 'Jagas' and described by Battell also have their counterparts in the practices of the Umbundu kingdoms.[3] The mode of the burial of the dead described by Battell[4] is essentially that which has been used, at least until the last few years, for the kings and the other 'holy'[5] men of the Ovimbundu, except that where rock caves are available the use of them has been adopted and in Kasongi cairns were used. The sitting posture and the sacrifice of wives or slaves and cattle (or of substitutes) are the important points, and these have everywhere been used for the classes mentioned, until quite recently.

The custom of keeping boys captured from the enemy and training them to be fearless warriors amid the terrors of the country has a parallel in the Umbundu custom of the king's slaves,[6] who came from another land[7] and would therefore do the king's bidding without fear, favour, or consideration of family feeling. They often reached high position and certain of the king's ministers always came from among them. There seem to be many recollections of the 'Jagas' in the customs of the kings' sons.[8] Names of certain of the officials seem to have survived, as, for example, Mani (*mutû*) Lumbo, Mani-Curio (*Mutkelia*), Golambolo (*Ngulamboli*), Tendala (*Candala*), Ukuetambo,[9] &c. Careful linguistic studies would doubtless reveal many remains of the speech

[1] *Oku lia Ekongo*—lit. 'to eat the Old One'. This is a ritual feast in which the flesh of a specially fattened slave is eaten mixed with the flesh of various animals. See Ravenstein, op. cit., p. 33, note 3. Magyar described this custom, calling it '*Ouri-Kongo*', op. cit., pp. 275 ff.

[2] See *supra*, p. 176.

[3] Compare Ravenstein, op. cit. [4] Op. cit., p. 34 f.

[5] 'Holy' in the sense of spirit possessed—the king, the hunter, the medical practitioner, and the smith.

[6] *Ocindubi* cosowa, singular. May there be some recollection of 'Kinguri' (= Cinguli) in this word?

[7] In Bailundu the *ocindubi* vicowa (plural) came mostly from Lunda, i.e. the Songo country across the Kuanza—further evidence of connexion with Lunda emigrants.

[8] *Ondili* cokowa, used collectively of all the royal families of the Ovimbundu.

[9] Cavazzi, op. cit., pp. 206 f., 211.

relative after whom he is named.(1)

(b) Ordinarily the baby is named by the father from his family. According to Ennis,(2) the first male child is usually named after the paternal grandfather, the first female child after the paternal grandmother; the next two or three children are named after paternal uncles and aunts, and then the mother may choose a name. Childs writes that the name may be given by the mother if the father's family has a bad record of deaths and illnesses.

(c) The name must not prejudice but assist the child's chance of survival; thus a child born after the death of several siblings may be given an insignificant name, intended to cause the spirits to overlook it, or to consider it less than human.

(d) Events or persons prominent at the birth may influence the choice. A namesake, whether intentional or not, is known as *Sando* (from the Portuguese word for saint). Events at the time of birth may be summed up in a proverb, of which the key word is the name. Ennis gives numerous examples of such names.(3)

(e) The same names may belong to several families of a type, e.g. trading or farming families, or the families of paramount chiefs, who were jealous of their names and did not permit their use by commoners.

Parents take the name of their first-born: thus "Nanjamba" is "the mother of Njamba". During illness a person may change his name to draw away the attention of the spirits. Adolescents discard their birth names and choose new ones.(4)

Infancy

During the first six months the child sleeps with his mother and during the day is carried in a cloth on her back, and fed whenever he demands milk. If the mother has no helper, she works in the fields with the baby on her back. An older sister or other young relative may play with the infant within hearing distance of the mother.

Between six and twelve months the child is taught to sit; when he can do this he is no longer a baby *(ocana)* but an ocisseba (toddler). A child rarely walks before the age of 24 months, since he is carried and held so much.

Weaning: a child goes every day with his mother to the fields; each month he becomes fatter and heavier, but he usually continues like this until after the second birthday. When he can walk, he may be left during the day with his young nurse (older sister, cross-cousin or other relative) and not fed until the mother returns during the afternoon. The process of weaning begins then at this stage but is usually not completed till a year or two later, unless another baby intervenes. Those who take longer than usual in weaning may, however, be frightened away from the breast.(5)

(1) Childs, op.cit., p.97.
(2) 1945.
(3) op.cit.
(4) Childs, loc.cit.
(5) Childs, op.cit., p.99.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

608 sometimes made between husband and wife, at night and in secret. People say that those who exchange blood will die at the same time.

NAMING

553 551 In addition to the words chosen to describe twins, there are some points of importance in connection with the naming of children. The father and mother change their names when the first child, male or female, is born, but there is no change of name at the birth of subsequent children. In a certain family the name of the first child, a girl, was Vitundo. The name of her father, which was Cingandu, was abandoned; he became Savitundo, "the father of Vitundo." The mother's name of Visolela was changed to Navitundo, "the mother of Vitundo."

If the first child dies, the parents dislike their names; they therefore revert to their original names. When another baby is born, the parents again change their names in the way described. A posthumous child is called Lusati. A child born after twins is Kasinda, which means "to push." Twins are called the Lion and the Elephant, or the Elephant and the Hippopotamus. There are no secret names. The names of the dead must not be mentioned; the deceased is referred to as "the one who has gone." Children may change their own names at the age of about sixteen years, and actually do so if their names are distasteful to them. Ngonga's friend, named Katito ("little"), changed his name to Mukayita (meaning not known). Ngonga's sister, named Ndumbila (meaning not known), changed her name to Cilingobenda, which means "It is a pity." I met a chief near Bailundu who was called Kandimba, meaning "the Little Hare."

There may be a change of name during sickness. A man now named Katahali suffered sickness in addition to other misfortunes. His sickness recurred, so he changed his name from Kopiongo to Katahali. The meaning of the former name is not known. The new name, Ka tala chali, means "He who has seen trouble"; Katahali is an abbreviation. Another instance of change of name, also in the village of Cilembo, was that of a man who changed his name from Lumingu to Kaihemba, which means "the one who lives by medicine"; because without medicine he would have died. A sick child may receive a bad name, for instance, the name Pig. If one or more children have died a subsequent child receives an ugly name with a bad meaning. There is no totemism, but children may be named after animals. A girl is sometimes named Kambundu ("a little frog"). Other names for females are Esenje ("the rock where corn

is pounded") and Cisengu ("a small bird with a long tail"). A boy may be Kangwe ("the little leopard"). 553 551

Names sometimes give an indication of descent. Ngonga's full name is Ngonga Kalei Liahuka, Ngonga ("eagle"), Kalei ("one who works for the king"), Liahuka (the father's surname). Ngonga's sister is Cinyafiala ("the old basket"). This was the name of her father's father's sister. As the father of Cinyafiala is Liahuka, the daughter is surnamed Yaliahuka (*ya*, "of"). The father chooses the names of the three first children whether boys or girls. The mother chooses the name of the fourth child whether male or female. If the child is a boy, the mother probably chooses the name of her brother or of her father's brother. When a first son is born, the father usually gives the name of his father; for example, Ngonga's father's father was Ngonga. If the first baby is a girl the father chooses the name of his sister. Ages are not known, but reckoning of age goes back five years by counting the number of times maize has been sown; maize is planted each October. The period from sowing to sowing is *ulimo*.

If a man has a child by a woman who is not a wife or a concubine, the woman keeps the child for eight or ten years. The man must give the mother a cloth in which to carry her illegitimate baby, also oil for her hair. Sometimes the girl will go to the father of her child to be his concubine, but her parents will not let her do so if he has a bad reputation. To bear a child out of wedlock is a disgrace. 848

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

In preparing the following tables Ngonga was the ego, or, male speaker, and each term is given in relation to himself, with its reciprocal. The tables give firstly Ngonga's own generation, then his ascendants, and finally some of his descendants. Tables E and F are diagrammatic forms of tables A–D. 601

TABLE A

(See Table E III)

NGONGA'S OWN GENERATION

Terms in italics are Umbundu names either for persons or for kindred classes. Reciprocals are placed in brackets; W.S. means, "woman speaking."

Ukai wange is my wife; *akeka*, which means "spouse," is a modern form of address for husbands and wives when speaking to each other (*sepange*, my husband).

Kota or *kuwa* is my elder brother (*mame wange* or *manja*, younger brother).

Kota or *kasenge* is my elder sister. An elder brother speaking to his sister calls her by name, or he uses the term *mbuale*. When speaking of her he says *makoi wange* (*mame wange* or *manjenge*, younger brother). The same terms are used in the same way to apply to my father's brother's son, and my

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

servant of mine explaining how the Mwekalia chose the chief said, giving me a comparison: 'The Bishop of Nova Lisboa thinks "This priest has sense" and so makes him the superior of a mission'.[8] The disintegration of the old political system, and the association of its representatives with the ritual values which are no longer very significant for the mass of Ovimbundu, has destroyed the old pyramid of authority and prestige. The people associate demands and punishment, for which they seem to receive very little in return, with the post. Many draw a distinction between the actual *chefe* and the government, which they regard as benevolent and ignorant of the behaviour of its representatives. Despite such expressions of loyalty as the singing of the Portuguese national anthem at village parties the 'government' is too distant and shadowy for the Ovimbundu to have much knowledge of it. Nor has the post tried effectively to build up new types of bureaucratic authority in the villages—the government headmen are not given sufficient backing or responsibility by the post to do more than execute its orders.

Hence, the establishment of new types of grouping and leadership at the local level has been the work of the missions, and it is through the missions that these new groupings are articulated on to the total Angolan social system. The missionaries, who provide this articulation between the 'civilized' society and the local organization of the natives, form the section of the 'civilized' population which most satisfies, in its relations with the people, the expectations of the Africans.

To use another term, it is within the Catholic and Protestant Churches that Ovimbundu most clearly identify themselves. Baptism identifies an individual by giving him a name, hence Christians object to non-baptized people identifying themselves in this way. To an individual baptism is significant since it is concerned with his destiny. By it also he identifies himself with the 'civilized' population and achieves a new status superior to that of the pagans. The newly-born child of Christian parents will be given a Christian name and also an Umbundu name from one already held by a dead kinsman.[9] A few villagers

[8] Actually responsibility for appointing superiors of missions largely belongs to the superior of the Nova Lisboa district of the Congregação do Espírito Santo.

[9] For Umbundu names, see Elizabeth Eastman, *African Studies* (Johannesburg) March 1945.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

attempt to take on European surnames. Alternatively, a man may take his father's name and attempt to use it as a surname. Thus Joaõ Batista Tjindandi, a resident of Epalanga, had received Joaõ Batista in baptism, and had taken Tjindandi, his father's name, as a surname. This is, however, not at all a general trend. Even a village of mixed Christian-pagan population may be known by the name of its school, identifying itself by its Christian name.

A man identifies himself also with social change and with progress by 'entering the school'. When a small girl, whom I asked if she had 'entered into the school' replied 'Not at all', her elder sister's husband remarked: 'She is asleep'. In the general Angolan society the religious referent is the most status-giving type of reference that most Ovimbundu can give. There is no very marked feeling in the superiority of one area of Umbundu country to another nor even is there a marked sense of the superiority of Ovimbundu to other tribes—thus the Kimbundu will be highly praised for the degree of European culture they have acquired. The very word Ovimbundu is used as an equivalent of '*pretos*' (blacks) a word not used of 'civilized' Africans, since it is indicative of the lowest colour-class. As a Christian, a man has a status which he shares with Europeans. He can also identify himself not only in a general way with the Europeans but more particularly with the general church organization. There is much closer contact between the authority-figures of the church organization and the people than between the authority-figures of the administration and the natives. Thus all Catholics in the Nova Lisboa diocese are confirmed by the Bishop of Nova Lisboa, and have seen him—similarly many of the Protestant Ovimbundu know of Dr. Childs, the headmaster of the Protestant secondary school at Dondi, through having heard him preach at a conference. Some Christian villagers would know the names of pioneer missionaries. Little is known by the people about the personalities or duties of the senior members of their administration, and even their titles are not properly understood.

The religious differences which exist at local level have no marked significance in the relations of natives to the post. In certain circumstances a pagan may appeal to a Christian

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

The rules about avoidance at night are still kept. The prohibitions on a man borrowing his father's clothes and sleeping in the same room as his father seem to survive. The prohibition on a child speaking the name of his father or mother reported by Childs is not, and was not formerly, found in this area. It is, however, wrong for a child to address his parents by name.

Children begin to work in the fields when they are about six. Occasionally boys of 10 to 11 go to the coffee fields for two months work, but usually boys do not go out to work until they are about 14 or 15.

A boy going out to work should ask his father's permission to go though this is not always done. Returning from work whether contract labour or voluntary work a boy should bring presents to his relatives. He would be expected to give something, say, a jacket, to his father, and a cloth to his mother, on returning from voluntary work and a shirt to his father on coming back from contract labour. These gifts should be made in kind. Money lent from son to father should be repaid, though it is wrong for a son to enforce payment by appealing to the post for policemen. A father may give money to his son for bridewealth, and may suggest a choice of bride. He cannot constrain, nor could he in the past, his son and daughter to a marriage they do not wish.

A man cannot be said to have real authority over his grown sons. The stated norm is that a man's sons stay in the same village till he dies. He has no power to make them do so, and they are not condemned by public opinion if they live elsewhere. A man's attitude to classificatory 'fathers' is determined by the age, status, and personalities of those involved, rather than by jural rights and obligations. I have found men unable to tell me what had become of their own brothers' children.

Formerly when the father of an adolescent boy died he would join the household of a father's brother. Nowadays this would be much less likely, as it is common for such a boy to settle with other categories of kin, notably siblings and maternal kinsfolk. A man is free to stay with his brothers if he wishes, or to leave them.

While the tie between full brothers is held to be the strongest, as regards classificatory brothers there seems to be a slight